1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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614 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa
784 is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another
825 clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large
784 tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ",
824 and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said
[766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared.
[782] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

Sub-clans and Kindreds.—The principal clans, viz. Minyam
613 and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans,
583 the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same
[616] clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

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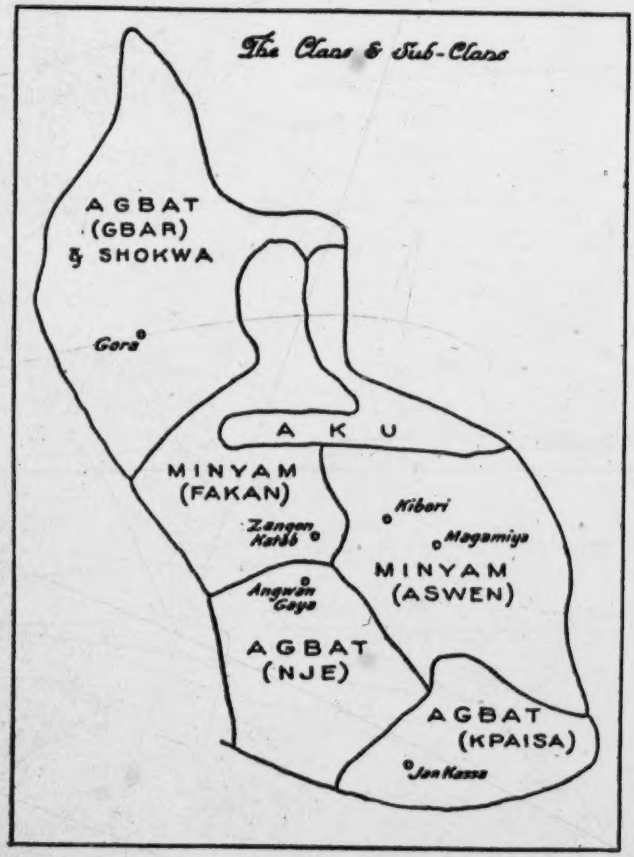
organization.[1] Thus the Minyam clan consists of the moieties[2] Fakan and Aswen, each politically independent and each inclined to be hostile to the other owing to the fact that each constitutes



a group from which the other may abduct married women to become secondary wives. The two sections claim to have had a common father. This cannot now be proved genealogically and

[1] But not a dual organization of the specific type known to anthropologists.
[2] The term "moieties" as used here bears no special sociological significance.

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613 may be a fictitious explanation of the rule which forbids inter-
583 marriage between members of the moieties, a rule which may
616 have been based on reasons other than those of blood relation-
ship. The Agbat clan has a triple division, viz. Gbar Kokwak (Kwak), Kpaisa and Nje, but it was stated that the division was originally dual, the Nje being strangers who were adopted at a later date.

612 The sub-clans are composed of kindreds (*kwai* or *bin*), the
616 term kindred being used here to describe the unilateral grouping of a number of families related through the father. Thus the Aswen sub-clan consists of the following kindreds: (1) Amurum-Alan, (2) Yagofo, (3) Awai, (4) Magamiya, (5) Kofo. Here again the organization was in the first instance dual, consisting of two moieties Amurum-Alan and Yagofo, the former being the religious, the latter the political chiefs. The Awai were adopted into the clan as a reward, it is said, for having taught the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo people the art of skinning animals, the Amurum-Alan and Yagofo having previously been in the habit of roasting animals with the skin on. Magamiya and Kofo were also adopted, the former being immigrants from the Ikulu tribe and the latter from the Kagoro of Kabbanchan.

614 The small clans of Aku and Shokwa have no sub-clan organiza-
612 tion and appear to consist of a number of kindreds or adopted groups. There does not appear to be any formal rite of initiation into the clan. A boy learns the rules of exogamy as soon as he reaches the age of puberty, and is shown the costume of the local tutelary genius when he has learnt to use the hoe. The kindreds are, of course, exogamous.

614 The following tables summarize (*a*) the kinship and (*b*) the
613 territorial groupings:—
612

(*a*) KINSHIP GROUPINGS

Clan.	*Sub-Clan.*	*Kindreds and Adopted Groups.*
Minyam	Fakan	Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda.
	Aswen	Amurum-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Magemmi, Kofo.
Agbat	Gbar	Angwai, Tainchen, Telen.
	Kpaisa	?
	Nje	Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba.
Aku	—	Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon.
Shokwa	—	Kuzat, Kamantam.

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(*b*) TERRITORIAL GROUPINGS

Village Area.	*Clan.*	*Sub-Clan.*	*Population.*	
Zonzon	Minyam	Fakan	227	
Sako	"	"	287	915
Zarkwai	"	"	303	
Bakin Kogi	"	"	48	
Kibori	"	Aswen	281	
Kurmin Masara	"	"	520	
Zaman Awon	"	"	243	
Zaman Dabo	"	"	785	2,687
Magamiya	"	"	480	
Taligram	"	"	226	
Giddan Wuka	"	"	152	
Gora	Agbat	Gbar Kokwak	1,200	1,431
Kurmin Gando	"	" "	231	
Jankassa	"	Kpaisa	1,150	1,557
Magada Kura	"	"	407	
Ungwar Gaya	"	Nje	908	
Fada Tsofua	"	"	467	
Giddan Karo	"	"	226	3,115
Kurmin Dawaki	"	"	409	
Mabushi	"	"	1,105	
Ungwar Zaki	Aku	—	137	
Bakin Kogi ii	"	—	94	962
Kigudu	"	—	132	
Kwaku	"	—	599	
Gora	Shokwa	—	200	

Each of the kindreds composing a clan or sub-clan has a recognized social and religious Chief, the Magaji Elenowum, who is not necessarily (as in the patriarchal family) the oldest member of the kindred, but is the direct descendant of that branch of the kindred which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller of the kindred. He may be, and often is, junior to other members of the kindred, but that does not lessen his authority in his own domain. He is the chief priest and offers sacrifice for the kindred and specifies the dates for funerals and other feasts. All large game killed by a member of the kindred has to be brought to him to be divided as he thinks fit. He is entitled to the heads of all horned animals and was in bygone days the custodian of human skulls taken in war. He is appealed to on all matters of custom, ranks, and seniority. His advice may be disregarded, and he would then declare that he would wash his hands of the kindred and leave them to follow their own new-fangled ideas. But his supposed magical

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582 583 614 abandon the practice of eloping with wives of other clans, and this would appear to be a genuine explanation, for if a clan has, like Shokwa, no subdivision larger than two localized kindreds, between whom wife-stealing would be impossible, then the members are compelled to seek secondary wives outside the limits of the clan. The real reason why Minyam and Agbat abstain from eloping with each other's wives is that the majority of the primary wives of Minyam men are Agbat women and vice versa.[1] If, therefore, a Minyam man were to elope with the wife of an Agbat man he would be eloping with a member of his own clan. There would, however, be no theoretical reason why a Minyam man should not elope with the wife of an Agbat man, provided she did not belong to the Minyam clan. The prohibition possibly dates back to a time when Minyam and Agbat formed two exogamous divisions of a single clan, and all the wives of Minyam men were Agbat women and vice versa.

582 583 613 The next point to observe is that, although extra-clan elopements are forbidden to Minyam and Agbat,[2] inter-clan elopements are the normal rule between the subsections of these clans, e.g. in the Agbat clan, which consists of the subclans Kwak, Kpaisa, and Nje, a man of Kwak may steal the wife of a man of Kpaisa, and a man of Kpaisa may steal the wife of a man of Nje, and so on. This is indeed so much the normal procedure that a member of one sub-clan refers to a member of another as his *nungvan* or "wife-abductor". Similarly in the Minyam clan, which has two sub-clans, viz. Fakan and Aswen, a Fakan man may not marry an Aswen girl, but he may contract a sub-marriage with the wife of an Aswen man. If, however, a member of one sub-clan goes to reside in the village of another sub-clan of his own clan the normal rules permitting marriages by elopement are in abeyance. To take an example, if an Aswen man of the Minyam clan goes to reside at a Fakan village (Minyam clan) he is not entitled to elope with the wife of anyone in that village. As already observed, elopement marriages create a feeling of hostility, and it is considered undesirable that fighting should take place within the local group. It is possible that the whole system of clan exogamy is the outcome of the desire to

[1] A Minyam man need not necessarily marry an Agbat girl as a primary wife, and vice versa. He may marry a girl of the Aku or Shokwa clan, or of some other tribe.

[2] Aku and Shokwa being small clans practise extra-clan elopements.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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avoid hostility between neighbouring groups. The residents of one group elope with or abduct the wives of residents of a neighbouring group, and vice versa. Hostility results, and in time the group agrees to abandon wife-stealing,[1] and to exchange daughters instead. A man is thus debarred from marrying the daughters of his own community, as they are required for the neighbouring community. This process becomes extended to other communities, and all the communities become in time merged into a single exogamous clan. We can see this process at work among the Katab and neighbouring tribes. It may be objected that among the Katab we have a clear example of a reverse process, for within the clan we have sub-clans which elope with each others' wives. But the answer would appear to be that the sub-clans are in process of becoming clans, and will eventually abandon the stealing of wives from each other. There was clear evidence of this tendency in the statement made by several men of the Nje sub-clan that they would prefer to give up the practice of eloping with the wives of the men of Kpaisa and marry their daughters instead, and that they were only prevented from carrying this suggestion into practice by the old men of the two sub-clans concerned, who would, of course, regard the proposal as incestuous.

582 583 613

There is a further factor which tends to induce groups which practise elopement marriages to give up the practice, and that is the frequent uncertainty as to the paternity of a child born to a runaway wife. The Katab have numerous rules for meeting this difficulty (as will be seen later), but a margin of uncertainty still remains, and it may well be on this account that a clan organization tends to spring into existence, or, where it is already in existence, that sections of a clan each tend to become separate clans.

583 851

When we come to the sub-divisions of the sub-clan we find considerable variations, elopement marriages being sometimes permissible and sometimes not. Thus in the Aswen sub-clan, which consists of the following groups, each occupying its own territory, (*a*) Alan-Amurum, (*b*) Yagofo, (*c*) Awai, (*d*) Magamiya, and (*e*) Kofo, (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), and (*e*) refrain from eloping with each others' wives, and this rule even applies to women who were formerly wives of (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), or (*e*), and have since gone elsewhere.

582 583 612

[1] For instances of this see later notes on the Kagoro tribe.

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Descent is patrilineal; but we have already noted that children often respect the clan emblem of their mother as well as of their father; and it may be for this reason that the Fakan sub-clan, who freely intermarry with the Agbat, have come to adopt the crocodile emblem of the Agbat clan. As regards the attitude displayed by children to their respective parents, Katab children are not over-respectful to their fathers. They look after their mothers' interests zealously, and think little of striking their fathers on their mothers' behalf, which is not surprising in a state of society where polygyny has run riot.

Inheritance.—Inheritance is patrilineal. In the exceptional case already noted, a sister's son may receive a share of his maternal uncle's property; and a case came to my notice of a man inheriting his maternal grandfather's widow. The general rule, however, is that a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins, according to the circumstances and character of the inheritance. Females do not inherit from males, husbands do not inherit from wives, parents do not inherit from their children, and grandchildren do not inherit from their grandparents (with the single exception that a grandson may inherit his paternal grandfather's young widow).

If a man dies, and he was the holder of a title, the title passes to the next senior brother or paternal cousin, if he is considered a suitable person to hold the office. But his property passes to his grown-up sons, among whom it is divided in comparatively equal shares. If the children are young they pass under the guardianship of the deceased's brother or cousin, who would take them to his compound (provided he had a separate compound) and would there care for them until they had reached an age of discretion, when they would be reinstalled in their father's compound under the protection of the eldest son. If he had no sons of his own the brother who had inherited might retain one of the deceased's younger sons to look after him in his old age. Again, if the deceased's children are under age, his widows are inherited by his younger brothers or cousins, provided the widows offer no objection. He would take them off to his own compound, or he might keep one and hand another over to a brother or cousin according to the wishes of the deceased. If, however, the widows had sons who were old enough to farm they would remain with their children in their late husband's

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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not 613 uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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765 *Mourning Customs.*—A widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one to two months (varying in accordance with the worldly status of the deceased husband). At the end of this period she is shaven and washed in the river by female relatives. If she is [587] still comparatively young she will have a suitor, and he will, at the conclusion of her mourning, present her with a goat, etc., that she may be able to provide a feast for friends and relatives. Males do not engage in mourning rites. If, therefore, a man loses his wife he summons a married sister to come and perform the rites on his behalf. She remains in seclusion during the period of mourning, and allows her hair to grow long. On the conclusion of the rites she returns to her husband's village.

613 *Government and Law.*—It may be surmised that, prior to the time when they came under the Habe of Zaria, the Katab 622 tribe consisted of a number of unconsolidated groups without 648 any central organization. Each group or sub-clan may have acknowledged the authority of its own Magajin Elenowum in things spiritual and temporal, but the existing system of sub-clan chiefs charged with executive and administrative powers seems to have been evolved in order to regulate the relations of the tribe with the Habe of Kauru, who had established their suzerainty over the Katab long before they themselves became subject to the Bornu-Fulani dynasty of Zaria at the beginning of last century.

648 The Hausa town of Zangon Katab was founded during the early Kauru régime as a caravanserai for Hausa traders, and as 622 a base from which the Kauru chiefs could extract tribute from 554 the Katab and exercise such administrative control as was 778 necessary for this purpose. In the matter of tribute it would appear that the Kauru chiefs dealt direct with each village area, ignoring the clan organization. But for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty was sworn on the sacred sword which was a characteristic feature of the Zaria polity. Sacred swords were granted to chiefs of importance throughout the Zaria dominions and treated with the utmost awe by the recipients, who guarded them closely and sprinkled them regularly with the blood of a chicken or goat. Minor chiefs and village headmen were not granted a sword, but were sworn in on a sword specially

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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This Question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the 691
resultant disputes as to the paternity of children has exercised 582
the minds of the Administration for many years. It is horrifying to both the Muslim and the European mind that an enceinte woman should abandon her husband and bring forth and wean a child in the house of a rival husband. The repugnance felt towards the practice and the unceasing court cases which it entailed led everyone, including the Katab chiefs themselves, to the conclusion that the best method of dealing with the Gordian knot was to cut it. And so proposals were brought forward that a woman who was enceinte should not contract a sub-marriage with another man until she had weaned her child, and that rival suitors or parents who influenced or harboured "fugitive" wives should be punished. The Katab chiefs, if they did not actually suggest these alterations in their tribal custom, at any rate agreed, but when the new rules were about to be promulgated they suddenly dissented, realizing that the matter was not so simple as it had appeared, and that the alteration would strike at the very basis of their social life. And so at the last moment the suggested innovations were abandoned, and the present position in Zaria Province is that a man whose wife runs off to another man, and whom he believes to be enceinte by him, must immediately notify the Court. Paternity disputes have in consequence diminished. This rule has been adopted in the Plateau Province by those tribes who are independent; but, if my information is correct, in the Iya's district of the Jema'a Division rules have been lately introduced forbidding a woman who is enceinte or weaning a child to contract a sub-marriage. If this is so, it means, in practice, that the Administration is putting a stop to the contraction of sub-marriages, on which the present social organization largely depends. Quite apart from that, the rule is likely to cause more trouble than it removes.

The sub-clan head had not a great deal of authority, being 613
simply an intermediary between the sub-clan and the foreign 554
rulers. He had nothing to do with the assignment of or collection of taxes, as the Kauru rulers dealt direct with the villages in such matters. He was, however, the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers, and could summon the village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. In judicial matters he could deal with minor offences, but took as little responsibility as possible, referring to Kauru all important matters or those

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likely to embroil him with his fellow-clansmen. His position was never so strong that he could call on his clansmen to perform such personal services as the repair of his house or the clearing of his farm.

The position of the village-head was even more unenviable. It was his business to apportion the tax, which might be a horse or slave, or several, according to the size of the village. To obtain this he called on each householder to provide as much corn or cash as would suffice to buy the slave required. He had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru. But apart from these imposed duties he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded by an arrow. The Katab was quick to seize his bow even against his nearest relatives, and it was not uncommon for a village-head to take refuge in Kauru until the anger of his fellow-villagers had subsided.

It would appear that in the early days the Aswen sub-clan was recognized as the senior Katab clan, the chief of Aswen receiving an acknowledgment of his position in the form of the forelegs of larger game killed. But in later times the sub-clan of Fakan assumed the rôle formerly held by Aswen. Fakan, however, was merely *primus inter pares*. If one sub-clan had a dispute with another the matter was referred to a disinterested group. Thus, if the Agbat had a dispute with the Aswen, the Fakan sub-clan was called in as an intermediary. If Fakan had a dispute with Nje, the Aswen clan was asked to adjudicate, and so on.

The present position is that the Katab (with the Ikulu and Kaje) are administered from Zaria by a resident district headman with the title of Katuka, who is directly responsible to the Emir of Zaria. The sub-clan and clan headman have no executive authority outside the limits of their own village-areas, but they combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters, the chief of the sub-clan Aswen being at the moment president of the court. The sub-clan and elders also, in accordance with native custom, form a deliberative assembly, and I witnessed a meeting of this assembly which had been convened to discuss certain matters referred to them by the district headman. The Magajin Mugu of the Aswen sub-clan spoke first, and was followed in turn by the other sub-clan headmen. As each finished speaking the most senior men

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

According to Meek, the Katab proper (*Atyap*, in the vernacular), consist of the following units:

Clan : population	*Sub-clan : population (with lineages)*	*Villages : population*	
Minyam : 3,602	Fakan : 915 (Setiin, Abio, Inyap, Agidda)	Zonson	227
		Sako	287
		Zarkwai	303
		Bakin Kogi (i) ..	48
	Aswen : 2,687 (Amurun-Alan, Yagofo, Awai, Kofo, Magemmi or Magamiya)	Kibori	281
		Kurmin Masara ..	530
		Zaman Awon	243
		Zaman Dabo	785
		Magamiya	490
		Taligram (Taligan) ..	226
		Gidan Wuka	152
Shokwa : 200	(Kuzat, Kamantan)	Gora : 200	
Agbat : 6,103	Kwak : 1,431 (Angwai, Tainchen, Telen)	1,200	1,400
		Kurmin Gando ..	231
	Kpaisa : 1,557 (?)	Jankassa	1,150
		Magada Kura ..	407
	Nje : 3,115 (Akwafu, Gaya, Jaba)	Ungwar Gaya ..	908
		Fada Tsofuwa ..	467
		Gidan Karo	236
		Kurmin Dawaki ..	409
		Mabushi	1,105
Aku : 962	(Asalio, Akuzan, Akuchon)	Ungwar Zaki ..	137
		Bakin Kogi (ii) ..	94
		Kigudu	132
		Kwaku	599
		Total	10,667

Lineages and villages are given here basically in the order in which they appear in Meek's tables: what has determined this order is not known.

Administrative units (Village-areas) of the Katab tribal area recognized by Government in 1950 (with population figures of *c.* 1948): (*a*) Zonzon, 2,184; (*b*) Zaman Dabo, 2,335; (*c*) Taligan, 1,116; (*d*) Gora, 3,238; (*e*) Jan Kasa, 2,162; (*f*) Ungwar Gaya, 3,566; (*g*) Gidan Jatau, 2,368: total, 20,315.[17] Unfortunately it is not possible to correlate in detail this list with Meek's, since the component hamlets of the various Village-areas cannot in all cases be identified with any certainty. It would appear, however, that (*a*) here corresponds with Meek's (1), (*d*) with (3), (*e*) with (4), (*f*) with (5), and (*g*) with (6); (*b*) and (*c*) together make up Meek's (2). (See also *Local Organs of Authority*, below.)

Cole found (1948–9) that the Katab tribe appeared to consist of three exogamous clans, Nyam, Ku, and Baht, the first divided into four "kindreds," the second not divided, and the third into three "kindreds." The correlation of social units with territorial units was inconclusive. Thus, the Ikulu immigrants appear to have emerged as one or two "sub-clans" of Minyam, and Meek's Shokwa "clan" to have fused with Agbat as a "sub-clan." (See also under Ikulu, below.)

[17] No information is available to explain the difference between this figure (which, incidentally, does not include Zangon Katab Town) and the various totals given for the Katab tribe specifically—themselves showing striking differences.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

According to Meek, the exogamous unit, or clan, appears usually to be composed of two parts, (i) those lineages claiming patrilineal descent from a single ancestor, the founder of the clan, and (ii) " adopted lineages " of known extraneous origin. No formal distinction between these parts appears to be made by the peoples themselves.

Since the time of Tremearne it has been persistently reported that " the Katab tribe " originated from the region of Karigi. Meek's account of the traditions of the clans, sub-clans and lineages shows that the matter is by no means as simple as that. If, as Meek reports, the Katab themselves hold that the clans and sub-clans bear the names of their founders (which the lineages do not invariably: see below), Shokwa was aboriginal in present-day Katab territory, emerging (with his wife) from the Kaduna River; Aku, though a late-comer, was somehow in the beginning affiliated with Shokwa, and was like him aboriginal; Agbat was clearly the ancestor of Kwak (Gbar—or Agbat or Baht—Kokwak) and Kpaisa (Faisa), but Nje was a " stranger " adopted into the clan, his descendants forming a separate sub-clan, the origins of neither Agbat (Karigi, according to Brice-Smith) nor Nje being made clear; Minyam, similarly of unstated origin (Karigi?), was the ancestor of Fakan and Aswen (Ashwam). (See also below.)

A number of the lineages of the various clans and sub-clans, as already indicated, are apparently of foreign, and comparatively recent, origin. Among the lineages of Aswen sub-clan, Awai (cf. Awai clan of Kurama), Kofo (stated to be " Kagoro of Kabanchan "), and Magemmi or Magamiya (Ikulu) are adopted; Nje, said to be an adopted sub-clan, has a lineage, Jaba, which suggests that Nje has carried the process further, to absorb immigrants of the Jaba tribe, and Asalio lineage of Aku clan may indicate a Moroa (Asolio in the vernacular) origin; similarly, Kamantan lineage of Shokwa clan, clearly stated to be adopted, doubtless derives from the tribe of the same name.[18] It is perhaps this process of " adoption " which can be seen at work when, though marriage is normally patrilocal, married daughters—sisters—return to their parental compound " with their husbands and children who have for various reasons decided to abandon their own group." When it is recalled that there is considerable intermarriage (though largely of the secondary sort) between the various members of the Katab Group, it would appear that the process aims towards an eventual amalgamation of Ikulu, Kachichere and Kamantan tribes with the Katab; and perhaps ultimately of the Kaje, if not of the more closely related tribes of neighbouring Districts.

In Agbat and Minyam, by far the largest clans, the exogamous unit forms also a unit within which secondary marriage is permitted or even preferred: the " sub-clans " of Agbat and Minyam, however, are units within which secondary marriage is prohibited.[19] Members of the small Aku and Shokwa clans seek both primary and secondary wives outside their respective units. The largest sub-divisions of Aku and Shokwa are, of course, lineages, into which all the sub-clans of Agbat and Minyam, apparently with the exception of Kpaisa, are also divided.[20]

[18] Similarly, according to Smith, Katab immigrants were absorbed by Kagoro perhaps a century ago, giving rise to the community's distinctive moiety-system, described farther below; and Reynolds reports the assimilation of Katab by Kaje at roughly the same time.

[19] A member of Agbat (Minyam) may take as secondary wife the wife of a member of Aku or Shokwa clans (within the limits imposed by clan exogamy), but he is prohibited from taking the wife of a member of the other large clan, Minyam (Agbat). Apart from the consideration that any serious friction between these two powerful bodies might well disrupt the tribe, it seems likely that most of the primary wives of Agbat men will, owing to the size of that cl. of necessity be Minyam women, and probably a clear majority of Minyam men take Agbat wives primarily, which would tend to restrict secondary marriage between the two; Katab express the prohibition in terms of mother-in-law avoidance.

[20] Meek leaves some doubt as to whether the sub-clan is a descent group of the type termed a maximal lineage, or a clan, and whether his clans—in the case of Agbat and Minyam at least—are basically phratries, Nje being an intrusive element. Certainly it is by no means clear whether the groups here termed lineages are anything like comparable units in the various clans. See Meek's detailed analysis of Kibori village.

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601 On the basis of Meek's table of kinship terms (*Northern Tribes*, II, pp. 26–7), Murdock has classified Katab terminology as "Normal Guinea" (comparable with, among others, the Chawai): according to Meek, it is identical with the Kagoro, and, save for dialectal differences, with the Kaje.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY: LEGAL PROCEDURE

613 793 622 The information available is somewhat confused. At the bottom of the scale the head of the compound or cluster of related compounds[21] seems to have considerable authority. Meek, however, indicates that the basic unit of authority is the lineage, each of which has a recognized social and religious chief, the *elenowum* (or *magajin elenowum*), a member of that branch of the lineage "which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller" of the lineage. He is not necessarily the oldest member; he may be and often is junior to other members of other branches of the lineage, but that does not lessen his authority. He is the chief priest and was formerly the custodian of human skulls taken in war; he is appealed to on all matters of custom, rank and seniority, but has no authority in political matters as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. The civil chief might, however, ask his advice or report to him the steps he had taken. The advice of the *elenowum* may be disregarded, but his "supposed magical powers would in the end conquer." Meek goes on to say that if the lineage consists of more than one extended family, each has also its head.

613 624 In addition to the social and political headships there are various other hereditary headships, always in different branches of the lineage. Among these Meek includes officers in charge of the *obwai* cult and the rain cult (see *Religion*, below), hunting "and the preparation of arrow poisons" (perhaps also the administration of the poison ordeal?), and another officer in charge of the young men "sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on" (possibly the same as the head of the *obwai* cult?). In general, Meek states, the lineages are fairly well localized in villages and hamlets, in any one of which, however, members of lineages other than the principal one may reside.

621 648 In Fulani times and earlier the village hamlet was apparently the basic unit of administration. To all appearances, in pre-Fulani times the chiefs of Kajuru, Kauru and Zaria were rivals in the territory occupied by members of the Katab Group. After the Fulani conquest, the situation remained complex owing to the rise of a Fulani Emirate at Jema'a Daroro, but Kajuru was eliminated from the lists, and Kauru was firmly affixed to Zaria Emirate, with the Katab tribal area "as an appendage." The Makama of Zaria became the chief of Kauru's "patron" at the court of the Emir, and the Galadiman Makama is said to have accompanied the chief of Kauru annually to Zangon Katab, "when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town." Meek adds that in matters of tribute the Kauru chiefs apparently dealt direct with each village, ignoring the clan organization, "but for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty sworn on the sacred sword [of the chief of Kauru]." The sub-clan head had little authority and nothing to do with the assignment or collection of taxes, but he was "the mouthpiece of the Kauru rule," and could summon village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. He could deal with minor offences, but all important matters were referred to Kauru. According to Meek, the civil chief of the village or, more accurately, of the lineage, occupied a position "even more unenviable"; it was his business to apportion tax, which might be a horse or a slave or several according to the size of the village [lineage]. He also had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru.[22] Apart from

[21] Meek's "extended family": see particularly Meek's description of the household.

[22] Zangon Katab was the site of an important slave-market: it is recorded that the Birom of the High Plateau disposed of certain categories of criminals through sale to Irigwe middlemen, who in turn sold them in Zango. (See also *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern*

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Kachichere

Social Organization

582 Meek has analysed the organization of Kachichere Arna. Where secondary marriage is concerned, the Village-area as a whole functions with relation to the Katab tribe much as the smaller Katab clans, Aku and Shokwa, with their fellows; that is, it constitutes the local unit within which its members may not seek secondary wives. Secondary marriages are, however, contracted with "wives obtained from neighbouring tribes," but whether also from Aticherak of Lungu is not known. As regards primary marriage, Aticherak form what appears to be virtually an endogamous community; at Kachichere Arna there are four exogamous units,[41] Ne-Tabin, Ne-Chobiam, Ne-Tiet, and Iningwa-Tiap,[42] those at Lungu are given by Reynolds as Alegahk, Tsoniata, Shoviam (=Chobiam), and Uwatiyap (=Iningwa-Tiap).[43] Primary marriage laws "closely resemble those of the Katab," according to Meek. As among Katab, the widows of a father or grandfather—real or classificatory—are heritable. Meek notes, however, that "every Kachichere child. . . has to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments. . ." The exogamous units are not totemic; all Aticherak of Kachichere Arna, however, "respect" the crocodile and leopard.

613 622 793 The civil head of Kachichere Arna Village-area (responsible, like the Katab Village-area heads, directly to the Katuka at Zangon Katab) is a member of Ne-Tabin, and "his 'madaiki' or second-in-command" (duties not indicated) of Ne-Chobiam.[44] Each lineage has its own head (*magajin elenowum*), those of Ne-Tabin and Ne-Chobiam being apparently separate from Village-area head and Madaiki, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, *atun yevwo*.[45] At Lungu, the connections of the hamlet head are not entirely clear; he is, of course, subordinate to the Atsam head of Pari Village-area. The hamlet council, according to Reynolds, consists of the hamlet head and the heads of each group and sub-group of the village.

114 There is no information about the extensive Kachichere community in Jema'a District, of which the obscure Numana peoples, about whom little more than the names and populations of their villages is known, may or may not be part. The names of the scattered hamlets already listed may be to some extent indicative of the socio-political organization: Ungwar Magaji and Ungwar Madaki both probably refer to actual civil titles, but there is no indication to which of the older villages they may appertain, and the significance of the other names is unknown.

101 197 In conclusion, it may be noted that Aticherak of both Kachichere Arna and Lungu appear outwardly to be virtually indistinguishable from their Katab neighbours.[46] Also, according to Meek, the local dialect varies only slightly from standard Katab.

[41] These appear to be lineages since, according to Meek, "the members of each believe themselves to be blood relatives, and . . . they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather. . . ."

[42] The meaning of these (or even the significance of the hyphens) is not stated by Meek. -Tiap, it will be noted, resembles the name the Katab give themselves, *Atyap*.

[43] According to Drummond-Hay (whose information appears to be supported by Reynolds' notes) other Aticherak are located at a village or hamlet, Kingwarang (Dutsin Kimbarang, according to Reynolds) but nothing appears to be known of its present size or structure, so that its population may have been included by Reynolds in his count of the inhabitants of Lungu.

[44] The chief of Kachichere Arna possesses a sword believed by Meek to be of Kajuru origin. The only other information relating to the chieftaincy is Meek's statement that a chief, on his appointment (by whom?), goes "into seclusion for seven days beginning on a Sunday."

[45] Meaning not recorded, but cf. distinctive title of Numana priest-chiefs, *Itum*.

[46] Aticherak, at least those of Lungu, profess a closer tie with Atsam, claiming voluntarily to have entered Chawai territory; having earlier professed a vital link with Kajuru, they resisted a move by Administration in 1931–2 to place them under the Kajuru hamlet-head, in favour of remaining under the Village-area head of Pari. Yet men of Chawai refuse to take Aticherak wives, since, according to various informants, Aticherak women wear lip-plugs! Meek notes that men of Kachichere Arna take secondary wives from neighbouring tribes, but does not specify whether Atsam is among these.

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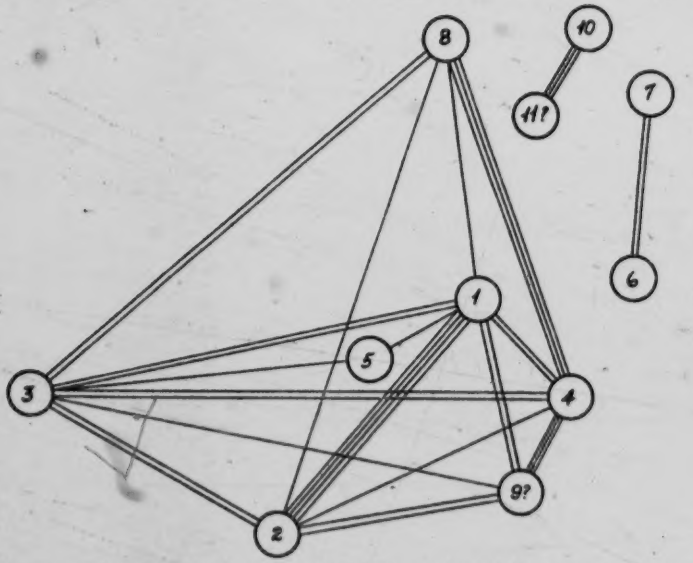
Kagoro

priest, shrine and ritual, common hunting grounds and, finally, common body of rules relating to marriage.[71]

Lesser social (kinship) groupings are the *tusa* or *uli*, and the *ufam*, which Smith translates as maximal and major lineage, respectively. Both of these are distinguished by common residence, presumably successively more narrowly circumscribed. The maximal lineage has its own head and its own hunting shrine; apparently it may have its distinctive totem species. Members of the major lineage share the spoils of the hunt, and co-operate in beer-making.[72]

Smith agrees with Cole that the compound, or domestic group, among Kagoro may be small. He cites as an example of a large compound at Fadan Kagoro village (population 1,895, with 214 compounds) one with four adult males and at least two women of child-bearing age, and, no doubt, some children. His intensive census of 94 compounds at Fadan Kagoro showed one-third to be composed of



KEY: (1) Fadan Kagoro, (2) Agbam, (3) Chanje, (4) Kpak, (5) Kukum, (6) Kadarko, (7) Makabun, (8) Malagum, (9) Saño, (10) Mafok, (11) Dussai. Position of numerals on diagram corresponds approximately to position, on map of District, of chief village of each Village-area named, except in the case of Nos. (9) and (11), which are located on no map at present available. The number of lines between Village-areas, above, represents the number of *bin* linking any Village-area with neighbouring areas: there are, of course, fewer *bin* than the total number of lines shown linking Village-areas here, since more than two Village-areas are joined together by at least three of the existing *bin* (see list, pp. 92–3).

extended family groups. Members of the average compound number around nine at Fadan Kagoro.

Regarding the compound, Smith states that "the centre of all Kagoro compounds . . . contains the foundation stone, without which the compound does not

[71] Normally it is "the widest unit within which the levirate is practised," but in some cases the *bin*, discussed below, may be so defined.

[72] Re co-operation, see below. Whether or not, rarely or often, the *ufam* constitutes a compound is not entirely clear.

The Katuka has administrative, but not judicial functions. In the normal course of events his duties are limited to the collection of taxes, and the installation of hamlet-heads (Village-area heads are installed by the Emir). The Wakili in general simply relays instructions to Village-area heads from the Katuka; the official scribe is in charge of the tax census of the area. 631

The post of Village-area head (Magaji) is a new one, dating from the time of the transfer of certain Kaje villages from Jema'a to Zaria. The Magaji transmits instructions from the Katuka to the hamlet-heads of his area. He has his own police force, and several titled messengers. Judicially, also, he has some authority, can settle minor disputes and inflict small fines. Further, disputes between members of any single hamlet in his area may be brought before him when the hamlet-head concerned is unable himself to effect a settlement. If similar difficulties arose between two Village-areas both Magadai concerned would meet and attempt to reach a friendly settlement: if their efforts failed, the matter would then be brought to the tribal court, of which all Magadai are members, three constituting a quorum: appeal from the tribal court lies with the Emir. It is said, however, that in relation with the hamlet-heads the authority of the Magaji is recognized but limited. He can exert authority only through them (outside his own personal hamlet) and will take no part in the collection of tax in their areas. 622 692

Major emphasis is laid on the duties of the hamlet-head as collector of taxes, a percentage of which he receives. He is also responsible for seeing that public works are performed within his own area. As suggested above, he also has certain judicial functions, particularly in secondary marriage, where he takes the girl and her father to the magaji, when *idda* begins and also when it ends.[111] For this he is given approximately five shillings.

The Madaki may be characterized as a lesser edition of the hamlet-head. 623

According to Reynolds: "None of these civil heads has a recognized council, but all informally consult with influential elders and senior relatives, particularly in affairs concerning tribal custom, when disputes arise: as will be seen, this is less surprising when it is learned that local groupings of all sorts are also kinship groupings, as a general rule."

As already indicated, the "tribal sections" or clans are localized (see table, above). These are segmented into a number of successively smaller, less comprehensive lineage groups, down to the "minimal lineage", the extended family inhabiting a single compound: all these likewise constitute local groups, the lineage of second order ("major lineage") generally occupying a single village or hamlet (and being most often the exogamous unit), and that of the third order ("minor"), a ward. Thus, it will be seen that the Village-area head is the organ of a body of kinsmen, and the hamlet-head one of a still more tightly knit group, closely related to all his ward heads within the hamlet. 614 621 613

Fusion as well as fission, however, occurs among Kaje as among Kagoro; immigrant lineages are reported assimilated to lineages traditionally "of one language," maintaining in effect a kinship relationship alongside a local relationship and a tradition of alien origins. 613

Before conquest by Kajuru and/or Fulani, the effective grouping in Kaje society seems to have been the clan, as a "maximal lineage", authority in which was vested in the *atiyinhwap*, or approximately "father of the group" (cf. Kagoro, above), still recognized as a ritual authority and held to be directly descended from the founding ancestor through primogeniture. His position normally passes from father to son or from elder brother to younger. If the latter, the son of the elder brother would inherit the position on the younger brother's death. The *atiyinhwap* is the final authority in all matters concerning the welfare of the lineage, offences involving mystical sanctions, rites for fertility and rain or for warding off death and disease. After he has spoken, nobody would dare to disobey for fear of incurring mystical retribution. Similarly, within the major lineages which compose the clan 614 613

[111] Re *idda*, see Kagoro, p. 100, above.

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Kaje

or maximal lineage, members recognize a direct descendant of their common ancestor as their head (*gado kapiyi*, in Hausa, Magajin gada). His direct interest within the major lineage is more intense than that of the *atiyinhwap* in the maximal lineage. After the *gado kapiyi* has beaten the ground with his stick no one in the major lineage would dare to disobey. Again, in the minor lineage, composed of a number of extended families, the head is *atiyinswot*, "father of the cluster." Although the position is usually hereditary, the son or blood-brother being preferred, it may be held by the senior elder of the minor lineage.[112] His powers are more limited than those of the *gado kapiyi*, but if he beats the ground with his right hand no one of the minor lineage would dare to disobey. All game killed by members of the lineage must be brought to him for distribution. The head of the extended family (minimal lineage) is *atiyikariyi*, "father of the compound."

According to Reynolds, "the *atiyinhwap* of the Baiduang tribal section is recognized as the final authority in affairs affecting the welfare of the tribe. This authority was not used to interfere in affairs of a maximal lineage other than his own, and he had no political authority," which is to say that there was no formal tribal government. He might, however, call together all *atiyinhwap* "to perform rites for the benefit of the whole tribe," an expedient to which, apparently, he has not resorted since the advent of British Administration.

Before the British, only two civil titles were recognized by Kaje villages, *agwam*, the name given by Kaje to the Fulani tribute collectors, and *madaki*, who was chosen by the *agwam* whom he served as "helper." The *agwam* were first chosen by the *atiyinhwap*, but later, when their number increased and where the major lineage was the political unit, the *gado kapiyi* would make the selection.

Much the same procedure seems in the matter of civil headships to have been followed in the early years of British Administration, but it is suggested that these titles have by now become in effect hereditary in certain lesser lineages. In recent years a few ritual leaders have shown some interest in the possibility of obtaining civil titles either for themselves or for close relatives.

Traditions

According to Reynolds, Baranza (the founding ancestor) and his relatives left Miango[113] because of a famine. They came down from the hills and after spending a short time with the Chawai eventually settled at Kurmin Bi, a hamlet of Zonkwa Village-area. There, according to Reynolds' informants, Kaje, or Kurmin Bi, was born. In Reynolds' opinion they do not mean that a son was born to Baranza, but rather that the tribe's development stems from Baranza's taking up residence with his family at this place. Nevertheless the ancestors of the Kaje clans are termed by present-day Kaje the grandsons of Baranza, hence, presumably, the sons of Kaje (Kurmin Bi). These grandsons were Sokwap, Kaduan, Dando, Atun and, according to members of Baintsok section, a fifth, Atom, whom Baintsok claim as their ancestor. Sokwap was the first to break away from Kurmin Bi and he settled on the Kamuru (Kaje) hills. He was followed by Dando and then Kaduan. Finally, so the Baintsok hold, Atom broke away and went to Tsofon Gida. Atun remained at Kurmin Bi. The sixth "tribal section," is composed entirely of assimilated alien lineages. A summary of Reynolds' analysis of the various sections follows.

Baiduang: men of Duang (a stream): It appears that the six constituent major lineages of Baiduang are organized as a single maximal lineage. Traditionally Baiduang is said to have been exogamous; nowadays the exogamous unit is a local association of major lineages. Formerly Baiduang was also a unit as regards secondary marriage, but in recent years young men of each of the two Village-

[112] In function, Reynolds states that the present-day hamlet-head is most nearly the equivalent of the old *agwam*. As already mentioned, he fails to indicate the actual title of the hamlet-head under British Administration.

[113] An Irigwe (tribe) Village-area, Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province. See map.

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Kaje

areas, Zonkwa and Zuturung, are reported to have contracted secondary marriages with wives of men in the other.

Baimbin: men of the drum: The six major lineages appear to be exogamous units at present: it is perhaps noteworthy that in Suryan Village-area only Kanakada is a composite hamlet, its residents divided between two major lineages. Baimbin section, that is, Suryan Village-area, is the " wife-stealing " unit.

Bainturung: settlers: Bainturung, which appears to be completely alien in origin, is composed of two maximal lineages, Amabat and Farman, with no tradition of kinship apart from extensive intermarriage. Originally the maximal lineages were the exogamous units, now the major lineages. Bainturung (Gidan Jatau Village-area) is the " wife-stealing " unit. The post of Village-area head is held by Farman.

Baintsok: men of the little hill: Four of the six major lineages are to be found in Fadan Kaje Village-area, one predominating in each of the three constituent hamlets, and one divided between two of them. The remaining two are located in Fadiya Village-area, where in general the minor lineage corresponds to the hamlet. As regards the *atiyinhwap*, the two Village-areas constitute a single unit. In Fadan Kaje the head of the Village-area is chosen from a relatively senior minor lineage of the same major lineage as the *atiyinhwap;* in Fadiya from a junior minor lineage of the single Kaje lineage there (as opposed to the aboriginal, adopted lineage, at Kahon, in that Village-area).

Banewhan: men of the mountains: This is the most complex section, being composed of a number of wholly disparate units, of origins apparently as varied as those of the component parts of any other section of the tribe. Banehwan has two maximal lineages, Sokwap, restricted to the Kamuru Village-area (Kamurun Kaje); and Potwak, distributed among Marsa, Gidan Tagwai, and Afana Village-areas. Minor lineages appear to be localized; each major lineage within the section generally constitutes an exogamous unit. Each of the four Village-areas constitutes a separate " wife-stealing " unit.

Batadon: men of tadon: Batadon consists of eight component lineages. In general, each major lineage forms a single hamlet. Reynolds notes as apparently exceptional that *atiyinhwap* and *gado abwai* (*obwai* priest) are held by the same person. The major lineage is the exogamous unit here, as elsewhere. Secondary marriage units are not so clear-cut, indicating that perhaps the hamlet is in process of emerging as the " wife-stealing " unit.

It will be seen from the above accounts that primary marriage rules and the structure of sections would permit of sectional endogamy, whereas in a majority of cases secondary wives must be sought outside the section. Such wives may quite frequently be taken from neighbouring tribes (see also below). In war, Kaje differentiated between Kaje, Kagoma, Jaba of Kwoi, and Ikulu on the one hand and Kagoro, Kamantan, Katab, and Jaba of Kachia on the other. When war was resorted to a single minor lineage on both sides refrained from fighting, and in the end joined together to negotiate a settlement.

Totemism

According to Meek, there is apparently a tendency for the Village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal, but present-day evidence does not support this. Reynolds found persons admitting to " taboos " on animal species, but taboos inherited through the mother and not the father. It is therefore possible for all uterine members of a compound to have the same taboo, and the mother's female children give this taboo to their children.[114]

[114] Reynolds found similar matrilineal totemic groupings among Chawai, reported in *Peoples of the Plateau Areas of Northern Nigeria.*